1:Métraux--1 E-5 (1931) 1935 SF24 Uru SF24
Ancoaqui

/75/

Introduction

/121/ [114] [101] [36] [16] It was solely with the intention of obtaining some elements of comparison for my Čipaya dictionary that I, in the company of Professor A. Posnansky, made a one week visit to the Uro of the Desaguadero in June, 1931. These Indians live in the village of Ancoaqui, on the right bank of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from the Bolivian port of Cuaqui. There are only a handful of them, 40 at the very most. Even taking into account those who were absent and the small agglomerations spread throughout the region, I seriously doubt whether the remaining Uro number a hundred. It was, therefore, imperative to record their language. The case of the Uro is typical of the rudimentary and anarchic state of South American ethnography. For a long time these Indians have been considered one of the most interesting ethnic elements of the Andean region. Nevertheless, no one has thought of living among them and devoting a serious and methodical study to them. The excellent monograph of Dr. Rivet (1) and Mr. de Créqui

/114/

[Text continues on p. 3]

/113/ 1. Créqui Montfort (G. de) and Rivet (P.), "La langue uru ou pukina /The Uru or Pukina Language/," Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, new series, Vol. XVII (1925), pp. 211-244; Vol. XVIII (1926), pp. 111-199; Vol. XIX (1927), pp. 57-116. To the texts assembled in this article the following must be added:

/113/ /105/ McCutchen McBride (G.), "The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia," American Geographical Society Research Series, No. 5, New York, 1921, p. 17. "There are the Uros that dwell beside the Desaguadero, the river that drains

Carangas-
Chipaya

/114 cont./

114 passably filled with water. Insofar as we may trust Minchin's map,
36 undoubtedly the most exact on Oruro Department, Chipaya is
131 located practically at the intersection of 68° longitude west and 19° latitude south.

101 It is not superfluous to give the distances which separate
36 Chipaya from the nearest Aymara villages. These figures will
[99] help to explain the strength with which Aymara influence makes itself felt on these Indians. The nearest Aymara hamlet is Iscara, which can be reached in a half-day's walk. Sabaya to the south-east is hardly farther away. /115/ As for Huachacalla, upon
[63] which the "canton" of Chipaya is administratively dependent, my observations and the remarks of the natives make me estimate the
[484] distance to it as 40 kilometers. From Chipaya one reaches Andamarca, near the Poopó, after three days on foot, and Orinoco, on the very edge of the vast marsh, in two days and a half.

133 Taking the data on the map of the Créqui Montfort Mission
36 as a basis, I estimate the altitude of the village of Chipaya at roughly 3,700 meters above sea level.

161 Statistics. I was able to gather the names of about 320 Cipaya living today. This figure is certainly somewhat less than the real one, because I was not able to record in my list a certain number of people who were absent or living in their "water houses." Zenon Bacarezza (1), in an official report presented to the Bolivian

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1. Bacarreza (Zenón), "Fragmento del informe presentado al Supremo Gobierno por el señor..., comisionado del Ministerio de Colonización y Agricultura para el estudio físico y estadístico de la Provincia de Carangas del Departamento de Oruro /Part of the report presented to the Supreme Government by Señor..., commissioned by the Ministry of Colonization and Agriculture for a statistical

/115 cont./

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and physical study of Carangas Province in Oruro Department/," Boletín de la Oficina Nacional de estadística, Nos. 61, 62, 63, 3rd trimester 1910, La Paz, 1910, pp. 477-480. Buck ("Ein wenig bekannter Indianerstamm des bolivianischen Hochlandes /A little-known Indian tribe of the Bolivian Altiplano/," p. 55) estimates the population of Chipaya at 800 individuals in 1929! This figure is, of course, the greatest fantasy.

[114]

161 government in 1910, estimates the population of Chipaya at 385
[114] individuals in 77 families. Although the first of these two figures seems a little exaggerated to me, the second appears exact. It
[65] may even be considered official as it was drawn from the number of "comuneros," i.e. the heads of families paying an annual tribute of 3 bolivianos (the Čipaya told me 2.40 bolivianos). According to my own census there would be about 100 households in Chipaya. As I do not know the principle which guided the authorities in their division of fiscal charges, I cannot decide how exact either of these last two figures is. Uhle,[2] who was the first scholar to mention the existence of the Čipaya, estimated their

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2. Uhle (Max), "Ueber seine Reisen in Bolivia /On His Trips in Bolivia/," Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Brdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. XXI, 1894, pp. 328-332.

/115 cont./

161 number at 500 individuals in 1894. As this archaeologist did not
[114] go to the village of Chipaya itself, his assertion is certainly very approximate and should not be invoked as a proof of the rapid extinction of this tribe. When one thinks of the barrenness of the environment, one is justified in asking oneself if this Uro group, exiled in the Carangas desert, was ever more numerous.

162 The population of Chipaya is divided in the following fashion:
621 Tuanta, with its subdivision, Warta-ayl'u, numbers 169 inhabitants (58 at Warta ayl'u and 111 at Tuanta properly so called), and
[161] Taxata 151. I doubt that in /116/ all the tribe is composed of more than 350 members. The numerical ratio between the sexes is 32 men to 26 women in Warta ayl'u and 86 men to 83 women in Tuanta. In Taxata the disproportion between the number of men and that of women (87 men to 63 women) is such that I can
123 only explain it by possible errors in my census. The native who
124 gave me the list of people in this "moiety" did so reluctantly and
161 very negligently. His reluctance is explainable by the fear that
651 this operation inspired in all the Čipaya. They saw in it a measure which would put their former rights in danger or threaten them with some unusual tax (1).

651
659 1. A short time before the expedition, a half-breed in the service of the government had gone to Chipaya to make a census of the population and to compel the Indians to procure identity cards, an ingenious process thought up by Bolivia to extort money from the wretched native population.
[609] The Čipaya took the business very badly, and the half-breed, threatened with death, barely had time to escape. The Indians related the incident to me, still laughing uproariously at the terror

/206 cont./

152 of those near them. The envy which tortures these contained and
518 impassive beings manifests itself in an underhand manner in low acts
[154] of revenge, in denunciations of each other to the alcaldes, and in interminable quarrels. Some Čipaya seem to realize this state of mind and complain about it. One of them who had traveled a bit spoke to me of it with bitterness: "Here," he said, "all hate each other, all envy each other, all steal from each other, and it does not make a good life."

593 Married life often reflects the brutality and ill-nature of the
578 characters. Disputes between spouses are frequent and degenerate into volleys of blows with sticks which the husband administers to his wife or reciprocally. The in-laws take part in these domestic
[162] conflicts and add to them. These quarrels can give way to drama: a few days after my arrival in Chipaya, a woman in a sudden fit of hysterical anger against her husband strangled herself with her own hands.

836 Sexual morality seems to be, from what the Čipaya told me, bad from our point of view. Young girls enjoy a great deal of free-
848 dom before marriage, and no importance seems to be granted to virginity. Illegitimate children are welcome and do not prevent them
837 from marrying. In contrast, infractions against conjugal fidelity can have serious repercussions. Some women seem to let themselves be seduced easily, and these cases of adultery or attempted adultery
593 provoke in turn brawls and scuffles. In general there is no apparent affection between man and wife. The women have nonetheless a privileged position, and their authority is incontestable. They speak to their husbands in firm and decisive tones, and no decision can be /207/ made without their consent. The children are never
157 mistreated. From the point of view of character, the Čipaya com-
177 pare very favorably with the Uro of Ancoaqui, their brothers in race, who still more than they have felt the pernicious Aymara influence.
609 The last 30 Uro of the Desaguadero compete in hostility and distrust
161 of strangers, even well-meaning ones, and it is hardly pleasant to stay with them.

/145/

/Pl. I faces p. 145./

The last group of Uru Indians living in the village of Iru-Itu, or Angoake, on the banks of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, has almost entirely disappeared in the course of the last years.

A long period of drought between 1940 and 1945 has lowered the level of Lake Titicaca by more than three meters; at many points the water has receded several hundred meters.

At the time of my first trip in 1938, the village of Iru-Itu had about 100 inhabitants; the Desaguadero went through vast swamps dotted with numerous ponds and lagoons with a great abundance of totora beds /totorales/. In 1941 a plain of sterile sand had replaced the swamps and fields of reeds; the Desaguadero was reduced to a narrow, muddy ditch.

Because of this the Uru have lost practically all their means of existence. The swamps covered with reeds, the totora beds, furnished them with the Scirpus necessary to make their fishing balsas and to cover their houses and served as shelter for numerous aquatic fauna: fish, suches (Trichomycterus dispar and rivulatus), bogas, hispe, carache (various Orestias), and birds sought by the Indians for their meat and eggs. Their entire economy, based partly on hunting and fishing and partly on the sale of totora fishing balsas and mats to the neighboring Indians, has thus been destroyed.

Many of the Uru are dead. Others, the young ones, have dispersed, mingling with the neighboring Aymara groups; some have joined the Lake Titicaca fishers. The old ones, more attached to their customs and their /146/ traditions and incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions of existence, have remained in the dead village.

In 1944 most of the houses had been abandoned; the totora roofs could not be repaired for lack of reeds, and many had given way. Only 21 people remained in the village; several women were of Aymara origin, and the few children were in part Uru-Aymara half-breeds.

/146 cont./

161 According to the latest news the group of Iru-Itu seems to
[62] be reduced to some 12 people, although since 1946 the level
[133] of the lake has risen considerably; in February 1947 it had already risen 90 centimeters. This rising movement is continuing, and the totora beds are slowly beginning to reform.

[731] The old Uru remembered having seen in their youth, around 1870, an even worse drought than that of these last years. But at that time they were more numerous and the group was able to subsist. Now it is too diminished to reconstitute itself and its disappearance seems definite.

101 I visited the Uru of Iru-Itu for the first time in 1938. Dur-
121 ing my stay in Bolivia from 1940 to 1944 I was in constant contact with them. Their misery and their decline did not allow me to glean important observations on their material culture, already studied by the numerous ethnographers who have stayed among the Uru of the Desaguadero. Their imminent disappearance made it necessary, however, to bring together everything which might still exist among them: anthropological observations, traditions, and linguistic records, in order to compare them with the other populations of the region and especially with the different groups of fishers on Lake Titicaca.

These are the results of this study, the publication of which we are beginning.

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Note I

Accounts and Conversations

114 The linguistic records at our disposal on the Uru are reduced to some quick observations and more or less expanded vocabularies gathered by travelers in the course of brief stays in the region of Iru-Itu. Métraux is the only one to have published texts in the Chipaya dialect. No text exists in the Iru-Itu dialect, and the best sources of linguistic information on

/170 cont./

*539 731 178 433 511 23. We are going to sell them to the people of the other race, at three for one real.

/171/ Remarks

*539 731 178 161 433 This account, dictated by an old Uru about 90 years old, Manuel Inta, is a commentary on the wide dispersal of the Uru, undoubtedly permanent, after a series of years of drought, 1940 to 1946. In 1944 there were only a few old people in their old village of Iru-Itu. The drought had destroyed the vast swamps of the Desaguadero and their reed fields, the source of all the activity of these Indians, bringing about the disappearance of the conditions which had made it possible for them to maintain their ethnic individuality in the midst of the Aymara populations. These complaints express the bitterness of the old Urus, fishers and gatherers, obliged, in order not to starve to death, to change their economy, working [167] in the fields of their Aymara neighbors. The young Urus have dispersed, some having mingled with the Aymara or Amaracized fishers of Lake Titicaca, others having established themselves in Aymara villages or communities.

*539 192 193 [161] wáki, Bolivian village of Guaqui, on the small lake. ὸx'ǩa, literally, "different," the people of another race, the Aymaras. Note the particle čᵘ intercalated between the root and the ending of the verb: Káya -čúčay, tánáču- čay, lúx-káču -čay, in order to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb and to indicate a customary action. The particle ki intercalated between the root of the verb and the ending čay indicates the future. The verb Káči- čay means "to engage in business," "to sell" as well as "to buy," or "to earn money." tumíni, a

*539 192 tomin (old Spanish coin): a word unknown to the present lake Aymaras but still used by some natives of the Puno region.

Note three other Hispanicisms: 1. kustúmbro, "custom"; 5. isú-čay, esto or eso, "that"; 17. ni- únu, "this alone," from the Spanish uno, "one."

/196 cont./

162 Aymara women:

551 Rosa Choque, 60 to 70 years old, Aymara from Machaca.

Francisca Arosquipe, 40 to 50 years old, Aymara from Guaqui.

María Chura, 40 to 50 years old, Aymara from Guaqui.

Half-breed children:

Victor Inta, m., 10 to 11 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Eugenio Inta, m., 8 to 10 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Ramon Inta, m., 2 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Manuela Inta, f., 3 years old, daughter of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Domitilia Tacon, f., 6 years old, adopted Aymara.

162 Total:

6 Uru men, from 40 to 95 years old (one of whom is certainly of mixed blood).

6 Uru women, from 30 to 95 years old.

9 Uru children, 5 boys and 4 girls, from 4 to 15 years old.

3 Aymara women.

4 Uru-Aymara half-breed children.

1 adopted Aymara child.

[125] The age of all these subjects was, of course, estimated approximately. Even the relationship of several of them is doubtful.

164 One of the children of mixed blood, Victor Inta, was struck by typhus exanthematicus.

161 162 621 [551] This list shows the deep decline of the group. In 1938 there were four patronymic names, those of the four big families in Iru-Itu: the Inta, the Vila, the Kispe, and the Salinas. In 1942 the Salinas /family/ had emigrated or disappeared, leaving only an orphan. The Kispe /family/

161 was represented only by Carlos and his son. Two men, a
162 young woman, and her children formed the Vila group. The
621 Inta family was the only still rather numerous one. It has, moreover, always been considered the most traditional and purest of the Iru-Itu families.

Anthropometric Study

128 We had to limit our study to the essential measurements
141 of the head and body.

The results obtained are contained in Tables I and II and the indices calculated in Table III /see pp. 38-40/.

These figures call for some comments.

In spite of the small number of subjects examined, the results are rather homogeneous for the group of men, with the exception of Carlos Kispe who is considerably far from the general type. The group of women presents marked differences from that of the men. It is quite difficult to judge to what extent these differences are due to a pronounced sexual dimorphism or to the influence of possible crossbreeding, which makes itself felt among close relatives, two sisters and their female cousin.

We will study the male and female groups separately.

Head

141 The absolute measurements show a notably elongated head for all the subjects examined; the outside figures go from 187 to 210 for the men and from 178 to 180 for the women. The head is narrow among the men, 141 to 150, with the exception of Carlos Kispe; among the women the absolute values do not exceed 149.

The cephalic index does not exceed 75.0 for the masculine groups; only Carlos Kispe is hyperbrachycephalic

A 175 /38 cont./
the title: "Posición geográfica de los indios Urus en el Lago Poopo /Geographic Location of the Uru Indians on Lake Poopo/," III, No. 3, 50-65, 1943-44. This document was made known to us by Dr. Guillermo Francovich, at the time Rector of the University of Sucre.)

A 175 197 Ludovico Bertonio

The (words) listed here are peculiar to the Aymara of this Lupaca Province....But not on this account should one judge that this vocabulary will be of use only to the priests and other persons who reside in the Province of Chucuyto, and among the Lupaca Indians, because without any doubt wherever the Aymara language is spoken, and in the whole nation of Aymara Indians...because the Aymara nation, although spread out in many and various Provinces, is very similar in language, and manner of speech generally, and thus he who knows well this Lupaca language will without difficulty understand the Indians of other Provinces...except for a few special words, very few, as we have said.

A [361] ...It is certain that in this Aymara nation, if we count the small ones and the large ones, there are more than 1,000 A [1949] pueblos or slightly less. Let us see now how many are the preachers who, knowing this language well, with the necessary clarity and proficiency, teach the Gospel. I would not be far wrong if I stated that they are barely 20.../Translated from the Spanish./

(Vocabulario de la Lengua aymara.../Vocabulary of the Aymara Language/, printed in the house of the Compañia de Jesus de Juli, a pueblo in the Province of Chucuito. By Francisco del Canto, 1612; preface A1 and A2.)

195 313 6 511 Lizarraga

...This province (Omasuyo) is heavily populated, and most are Puquinas; they are well favored /son recios/ with

[16th-17th Centuries]

/38 cont./

native livestock, and in addition they share in more maize and wheat than those of other parts, because of /39/ having on their left the province of Larecaja, abundant in both.... /Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción colonial /Colonial Account/. Biblioteca Argentina, XIII-XIV, Buenos Aires, 1916, I, 227.)

Constituciones sinodales del Obispado del Cuzco, expedidas el 29 de Setiembre de 1591, por el Illmo Sr. D. Fr. Gregorio de Montalvo /Synodical Rules of the Diocese of Cuzco, issued on 29 September 1951 by the Illustrious Don Fr. Gregorio de Montalvo/.

...Because in many pueblos of this our Diocese as a rule all Indian women, or most of them and some of the Indian men, do not understand the Quechua language, but rather Aymara or Puquina, and for this reason do not know the mysteries of our Faith, and do not confess their whole life, not even at the hour of death, in order to remedy this we order that all parish priests among the Indians, in accordance with the mandate of the third Council, should hear confessions in the language peculiar to their parish, /whether/ Quechua, Aymara, or Puquina, and because this is so different in each pueblo where said language is spoken, within a year of their being appointed to said parishes, they should prepare with the help of Indians who know Spanish /ladinos/ a short Confession and Catechism wherewith to confess and instruct these persons, which they must do under penalty of 20 pesos the first time and twice as much the second, being warned that they will even be deprived of their parishes, if they are negligent in this respect.... /Translated from the Spanish./

Statement of the Bishop of Cuzco, D. Antonio de la Raya, charging the Jesuits on 12 March 1549 to give examinations to clergymen applying for Indian parishes:

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they were linguistically related to the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "*Uru*" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

Uru history is little known. The most ancient Highland *Uru* tradition, that in prehistoric times their bodies were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

In earliest historic times, the *Uru* appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (totora) swamps of the Río Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, *Uru* was still spoken in scattered places: Ahuallamaya, Ancoaqui, Iruitu, and Nazacara in the Río Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were *Uru* haciendas at Chcaraque, Taguau, Tacacatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi. There were 937 persons (448 males, 498 females), of whom 809 were Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included *Aymara*, it is doubtful if there were more than 200 *Uru* in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoaqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Río Desaguadero region had less than 100 *Uru* in 1931.

Recently, the Ancoaqui *Uru* have been despoiled of their lands by the *Aymara* comunarios of Jesús de Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

The Coast *Uru* are little known. Locana Machuca (Latcham, 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others from the Río Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

Unlike the friendly *Uru* of the Coast, the Highland *Uru* have long had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century rhyme states that, "De indio Uro ningun hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an *Uru* Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Garcilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertonio wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chipaya* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca. 1956) 1957 SP34 Urs SP34
Chipaya

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Urus, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleevless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, althougl

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

Biblioteca Universitaria (Sección Manuscritos) UNSA
Chipaya

IT MIGHT STILL BE A.D. 1500 in a remote section of Oruro Department of Bolivia today. Here is the retreat of the Chipaya Indians, the living people who can give us an idea of rural life in a distant corner of the great Inca Empire. The few hundred individuals of Santa Ana de Chipaya are the remainders of a once numerous people whose territory extended to the northern shores of Lake Titicaca. Their language, Uru-Chipaya, was called "one of the three main languages of the kingdom" by the sixteenth-century chroniclers of Peru, which included what is now Bolivia. Over the centuries the more powerful Quechuas and Aymaras have seized their lands, forcing them back into a region where life is particularly difficult. But they have made remarkable use of their harsh, ungenerous environment. In their isolation, they have retained their pre-Columbian customs more completely than any other Andean group.

And they are isolated. The modern world did not even know of their existence until it was reported by the famous Peruvianist Max Uhle toward the end of the nine-

[A 19-C]